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marriage coming from another inzu or to be made to another inzu, and whether the council thought that a connexion with such or such lineage was to be accepted, sought, or avoided. A certain number of disputes that the lineage head could not or would not settle alone were submitted to the council. When somebody had lost his cattle and was ruined, the council could determine and apportion a collective contribution to help him out of his difficulties. Finally, blood-feuds were discussed. When a member of the group had been killed by a member of another all the kinsmen of the victim attempted to retaliate by taking of the life of a kinsman of the offender. Compensation was not usual. I was told, however, by the Hutu of Bugoyi that there the murderer's group could prevent the taking of vengeance by handing over a beautiful girl. Political authority kept the feuds under strict control. Permission to retaliate had to be obtained from the king and when it was granted and vengeance had been achieved, the feud was at an end. No further vengeance could be taken. Sometimes the king made representatives of the two lineages share a meal.

As the preceding paragraphs suggest, there was no clear-cut division between the powers of the head and of the council. It was a question of the particular traditions in each inzu and of the individual characters of the persons concerned. Usually, however, the inzu was an oligarchy rather than a monarchy. The head could not rule in opposition to the men of standing in his lineage; they had the means to put pressure on him and then there was the possibility of recourse to the political chiefs, always glad to interfere in a domain which was not completely under their control.

The obligations and rights of the individual members of a primary patrilineage were many. There was first a prohibition on sexual intercourse within the group, which applied to relations whether in or out of wedlock. It was feared that the mating of descendants from the same inzu ancestor would produce sickly and malformed children. A few informants add that exogamy was necessary to promote connexions between descent-groups, these connexions being thought of as beneficial in a vague way. The Ruanda did not distinguish incestuous relations from prohibited relations because of consanguinity. For them all the latter were incestuous. But they recognized order in the degrees of gravity in

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613 835 incestuous relationships. The most serious in the inzu would be between Ego and Da or Ego and FaSi. These were said never to occur. Incest was viewed with horror as a beastly thing, a view reflected in one of the words used to describe it, *ubuhene*. The root of this word is *ihene* (goat) because, as an informant put it, only he-goats pair with their mothers and sisters. A breach of this rule was the concern of everybody in the group as it was likely to bring about calamities affecting them all.

613 476 Another duty of a member of a primary lineage *vis-à-vis* any of his kinsmen was that of rendering assistance when he was in difficulties (as for instance when a father was unable to help his son to pay bride-wealth or when the cows of a herdsman had been killed by an illness). This obligation was particularly binding when the misfortune was no fault of the victim, but even if it was, aid was often given. As has been mentioned, the lineage-head or the council usually determined the amount to be contributed by everybody. But mutual help was also an individual duty.

[692] A kinsman could enlist the help of the wise and experienced men of his inzu when he had to go to the tribunal. He was accompanied by them, and was helped not only by their advice but also and sometimes mainly by the mere fact of their moral support. The chief who was judging could see the power of the group behind the plaintiff or the defendant.

Inzu solidarity operated both actively and passively in blood-feuds. All adult kinsmen of the victim were obliged to take up arms and carry out vengeance. Kinsmen of the murderer had to defend themselves and all adult males of his inzu had to accept the risk of being killed because of their kinsman's crime.

613 764 When a member of the inzu died, all others met in the deceased's hut and watched by the corpse for eight days. After this the corpse was not buried but thrown away in some isolated place, such as the top of a rocky hill, which could be used by the people of any inzu living nearby. Mourning lasted two months for a man and one month for a woman. During that period there was a prohibition on intercourse for people very closely connected with the deceased (his son, his wife, his son's wife, his father). At the end of the mourning period all the inzu gathered together again.

613 765 [833] There was a beer-feast and obligatory intercourse for all the inzu members with their own spouses. When there was no spouse, as

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to the oldest brother's as regards her younger sisters. But the importance of seniority was less stressed among sisters than among brothers. There was often rivalry between married sisters as there was no taboo on intercourse between a woman and her sister's husband.

Sisters and brothers were playmates during their childhood. After puberty their relations were restricted, but certainly not to the point of avoidance. As girls did not inherit from the father, as they were the prospective paternal aunts of the future children of their brothers, the relations between siblings of opposite sexes did not manifest the same covert strain as that between brothers.

Parallel paternal male cousins of Ego were assimilated to his brothers, but as there was no inheritance rivalry, and as Ego was not required to manifest a particular respect for his eldest cousin, Ego's actual relation with his parallel cousins was in fact more fraternal than with his brothers. Ego considered the daughters of his paternal uncle as sisters with whom there was a marriage prohibition. There was consequently a certain reserve between them which, however, did not prevent them from exchanging obscene jokes at a celebration or a gathering, but any sexual acts were severely tabooed.

(d) Organization and activities of the umulyango and the ubwoko

The two other descent groups may be described much more briefly. The secondary patrilineage when it had just divided from the primary group continued to share in the previous functions of the formerly united inzu. There were still gatherings of the descendants of the umulyango's ancestor, mutual aid, judgements in disputes, and participation in the blood-feuds. But gradually these activities were confined more and more within the new inzu and after an intermediate period, the umulyango generally disappeared as a corporate group.[13] Obviously if the splitting was due to a change of residence or a dispute, the functions of the former inzu were very quickly assumed by the new one and relations with other branches of the former inzu (which then constituted an umulyango) were not very close.

Did the umulyango as such have any special characteristics or activities? All our informants agree on the rule of exogamy.

[13] For a definition of a corporate group see Radcliffe-Brown and Forde, 1950, p. 41.

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Why did they not operate in the case of FaSi? As mother of Ego's paternal cross-cousins, with whom Ego could enjoy the same familiarities, she could have reacted in the same way. We have seen that, on the contrary, she was extremely cordial to her nephews. The only reason seems to be that her nephews belonged to her own lineage, whereas her daughters did not. Consequently she was less interested in bride-wealths, &c. Her husband (FaSiHu) probably reacted in the same way as MoBr.

The relations of Ego with his maternal aunt (MoSi) were supposed to be similar to his relations with his mother, but in fact great trust and affection did not often exist between them because of the usually tense relations of the aunt with Ego's mother, her sister. If, for instance, Ego's aunt's husband (MoSiHu) neglected his wife and preferred his sister-in-law (Ego's Mo), with whom intercourse was not taboo, the relations between the two sisters became tense. The incest taboo applied to the relations between Ego and MoSi (as an extension of the incest prohibition between Ego and his Mo) and also MoSiDa (although she did not belong to Mo's inzu). In the latter case, the reason was that for Ego, his maternal parallel cousins were assimilated to his paternal parallel cousins. He had consequently to consider her as his sister. In the next generation this incest taboo still existed (between So and MoSiDaDa, i.e. between any male and his FaMoSiDaDa). The incest between Ego's male descendants and his MoSi's female descendants through females lasted, I was told, as long as the original sibling relation (between Mo and MoSi) was remembered.

Between Ego and his maternal grandfather, the relations were very similar to those between him and his paternal grandfather. As we may expect, the fact that his maternal grandmother did not belong to the maternal patrilineage did not prevent her from being considered as a grandmother and not only as MoFaWi.

As has just been indicated, Ego could enjoy with his female maternal cross-cousins great familiarity expressed in practical jokes, pleasant talk, and erotic games. But as long as the girls were unmarried anything more than caressing and petting (erotic kissing seems to have been unknown among Ruanda) was prohibited. It was only after the female cross-cousins' marriages that sexual intercourse with them was tolerated. This behaviour was extended to wives of male cross-cousins (MoBrSoWi).

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This privileged sexual partnership is not to be understood as an unrestricted freedom irrespective of circumstances. From the point of view of a married woman sex relations with these relatives were privileged in the sense that her husband could not divorce her or dismiss her on these grounds as he could do if the lover was not a relative of that category. For the lover himself, it did not make much difference as the woman was always regarded as being responsible for adultery ('she should have refused'); the husband usually had no claim against him although the lover might have to endure some punishment such as being beaten if caught in the act. We may say, however, that intercourse with a woman relative was privileged for a man in the sense that his wife was supposed not to resent it. In any case these relations were kept secret as far as possible, and it was regarded as seriously lacking in respect to indulge in them when the spouse was not away. When the spouse was absent, travelling for a long time, they were considered normal.

This tolerance concerned only married women. Before marriage girls were supposed to remain virgin. When an unmarried girl became pregnant, she was either killed with the infant or sent away, usually to an island on Lake Kivu where she was left to die, unless rescued and taken by a man of a very much despised tribe, the Shi, living on the western shore of the lake (the present Belgian Congo side). Of course, such a drastic course of action was not always followed, but this was the traditional rule. When the unmarried girl was impregnated by a cousin, these dreadful consequences could be more easily avoided if the parents wanted to exert pressure on the lover to make him marry the girl. But this is the only sense in which it may be said that sexual intercourse for an unmarried girl with a relative was privileged.

On the contrary, maternal parallel cousins of Ego had to be treated with restraint. Although not members of his patrilineage, as were his paternal parallel cousins, his attitude towards them and particularly towards the girls was supposed to be very similar. The incest taboo existed between Ego's descendents and his parallel cousins' descendents until such time as the fact that the two mothers were sisters had been forgotten.

Towards his sororal nieces and nephews, Ego's role was similar to his avuncular role *vis-à-vis* his brother's children. He could not marry or have intercourse with his sororal nieces. His behaviour

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604 The paternal uncle's wife (FaBrWi) was more deeply connected with Ego's inzu. She bore children who were Ego's parallel cousins; there was no incest taboo between her and Ego's father and if her husband died, she might become a wife of Ego's father. For all these reasons, respectful and almost filial behaviour towards her was expected from Ego.

835 For the affinal relatives of Ego's generation, the rule was quite simple. There was no incest taboo; there was on the contrary a privileged sexual partnership (as described earlier in connexion with the paternal cross-cousins) between a male Ego on the one hand and on the other the wives of his brothers, parallel cousins, and cross-cousins. And the same *mutatis mutandis* when Ego is female.

606 Between Ego and his daughter-in-law (SoWi) there was no incest prohibition, although there was between a female Ego and her son-in-law (her DaHu). This was rationalized by saying that the SoWi is for Ego a little spouse and not a daughter, whereas for the son-in-law, his wife's mother is his mother. As may be imagined the role of SoWi, 'daughter' and rival of her HuMo, was not an easy one as regards Ego and Ego's wife. Her ambivalent situation was reflected in her traditionally expected behaviour. She had to behave respectfully, obediently, and affectionately, as a daughter, towards her parents-in-law, and at the same time she was expected to assume almost an avoidance attitude: she was not allowed to pronounce their names nor even words which sounded similar.

Ego's daughter's husband was expected to conform to the same verbal taboos as regards his father-in-law (Ego) and his mother-in-law (Ego's wife). He was not allowed to eat at his parents-in-law's until his wife had had a child. Even then he never spoke if not invited to. After a certain period of time, however, when the marriage was stable and had produced a few children, relations eventually became freer, though they remained always rather reserved.

601 All other affines of generations following that of Ego were designated by the same term, even if they were not connected through his patrilineal descendents, DaDaHu for instance.

(b) The kin of Ego's wife

602 Let us now consider the other class of affines, that in which the affinal link is first traced from Ego. These are the consanguineal

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that in questions of exogamy, informants mention it first and attempt to relate other categories to it: I refer to the primary patrilineage (inzu). People descending in the paternal line from a common ancestor did not intermarry because they were of the same blood. The same principle was logically extended to the secondary patrilineage (umulyango).

A second extension of the taboo concerned the maternal kinship group and had a double basis. First the idea that it would be unnatural and horrible to conceive a marriage between Ego and his mother and consequently between him and any person assimilated to her (her sisters and female parallel cousins). Second, because of the tendency to recognize the cognatic principle, some matrilateral relatives were tabooed because their paternal counterparts were tabooed. This applied to the maternal parallel cousins.

Only when Ego was a male was there a third extension to his in-laws. The explanation given is that it seemed distasteful that a man could have intercourse with a girl and her mother. Consequently the wife's mother and all the relatives assimilated to the mother were in the prohibited class.

The same taboo included also sororal nieces and grand-nieces of Ego because he had to assume an avuncular attitude towards them, although they belonged to another patrilineage.

A further extension included the spouses of uncles and aunts. The spouse of an aunt was regarded rather as an uncle, and the spouse of an uncle was regarded rather as an aunt.

Ruanda were so eager to form new connexions with unrelated kinship groups that they were very keenly aware of any factor favouring them. Some informants stressed the function of exogamy rules from that point of view. Increase of social communication by marriage does not explain all the particular prohibitions, however, since some of them were concerned with people of a different patrilineage. Taboos on marriage and sex relations (they were co-extensive) had, it appears, in some cases the function of keeping a certain cohesion within the large group of relatives by kinship and affinity by preventing rivalry. Prohibition of relations between Ego and his WiBrWi could not favour social communication, but it certainly made possible harmonious relations between Ego and his WiBr.

Inter-caste marriage was not prohibited between Hutu and

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833 [595] under the man was not usually practised. In the polygynous family the husband had to spend two nights with each wife *seriatim* and to have at least one intercourse.

The Ruanda thought that when the sex activity of an individual had begun, he could legitimately expect an opportunity to enjoy intercourse as frequently as was socially thought normal. Some 864 parents were said to be severe towards sexual play among children. When the latter indulged in imitation of adult relations, in masturbation, and other manipulations, they were beaten and 838 flogged. Others were more permissive.[8] Homosexuality was common among young Tutsi when being trained at court, and was almost exclusively ascribed to the lack of heterosexual contacts.

831 Later in life; sex needs were regarded as requiring satisfaction just as any other natural need. If the husband or wife was not 837 available, it was socially permitted to have another partner 835 (among the privileged ones) even if the absent spouse resented it. The sexual needs of a woman were thought to be more urgent when [843] she was pregnant; intercourse once a week was regarded as a [833] minimum. If her husband was absent, therefore, cohabitation with one of his brothers or parallel cousins was viewed almost with favour. When a husband had been away for a very long time, and if it was not known even if he was still living, though his wife could not obtain a divorce she could cohabit and have children with one of her privileged partners, preferably belonging to her husband's patrilineage. A wife never accompanied her husband on his [593] travels to the court or elsewhere. In such cases the Tutsi took with [484] them a concubine, the daughter of a client for instance.

548 At the court of the king or of important chiefs, there were a few Tutsi women who were openly servants of the chief or the king (*abaja*). In fact they were courtesans, either the daughters of Tutsi clients of the chief or king, who had been invited by the chief or king to come to the court as servants because of their beauty, or divorced women. They received costly presents and were often well-off, having their own herds of cattle. These presents appear to have been rewards not only for sexual favours but also, and perhaps mainly, for some inside information so useful in that world of intrigue.

831 The preceding paragraphs should not be understood as implying that the Ruanda emphasized exclusively the physical and

[8] Cf. Vincent, 1954, pp. 167-71.

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groom is so that she can obey the rule forbidding her to look at or speak to the man she is to marry. There are nonetheless young people, orphans or children whose parents are inconsiderate, who do not know until the wedding day that arrangements have been made to marry them. If this happens to a young girl, it is said, she becomes very frightened by the sudden necessity to go perhaps very far away to live with a strange family and with a man whom she has probably never seen. Although the young girl receives new clothes from the family of her bridegroom, although she goes to her new home accompanied by a representative of her family and by her friends and cousins (neither her mother nor her father may attend the wedding at the groom's home), the happy dreams of marriage change into nightmares. The bride is hardly reassured by a wedding ceremony that is a symbolic kidnapping. The hostility between the two patrilineages is supposed to be play-acting, but under the influence of beer, it often becomes genuine quarrelling. Weddings are almost invariably marked by arguments and mutual criticisms which are sometimes very bitter. In truth, hatred for a husband may still burn in the memory of an elderly lady as she speaks of her wedding of 50 years ago, if she had not been told in advance and if her husband on their wedding night behaved like a wild young man and took her by force and against her will. If the groom and parents-in-law are kind, they will be able to calm the fears of a bride. For the four days of the honeymoon, they are indulgent towards her. The husband and his brothers give her little gifts to persuade her to eat, they bribe her so that she will talk to them, and the mother-in-law sends beer and food. In this way, she can become accustomed to her new home.

A father who is wise and kind chooses a good husband for his daughter. He will point out that a bad marriage is not worth the trouble. If soon after the marriage his daughter returns home with a legitimate reason for having left her husband, the father will have to return the dowry and wait for someone else to come and ask for his daughter. It sometimes happens that a father is more interested in the dowry than in the happiness of his daughter. He will then accept the first offer made him, even if it comes from a man he knows is bad, or, scandal of scandals, from an old man. (The latter connotes incest, involving as it does a male of an older generation than the female.) Or, if the father is dead, a girl may be given by her paternal uncle to anyone who comes along. Men of this kind do not allow the women to come back home again when they are dissatisfied with their husbands. An orphan or the daughter of a bad father will have the good luck to please

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the honeymoon. The morning after the wedding, it can happen that the young bride will go out into the yard and announce in a loud, clear voice: "I did not come here to go to bed with another girl". She goes home. The boy's father knows that his son is impotent. It is the mother's fault. She must have allowed the dried umbilical cord to fall on the male organ of her newborn son. The cure also is up to her. The parents give their son a great deal of beer so that he will become drunk. The father then leaves the house, and the mother then has intercourse with the son in order to remove the impotence which her neglect caused. If the cure has not failed—and there is great confidence in the probable success of this remedy—the young couple will be reunited and remain together to face the other risks of married life.

When spouses fight, the neighbour-women give advice to the wife and the men to the husband. Both are encouraged to reform. If the wife has become seriously angry, she will leave and stay at her father's for a while. She tells her mother her reasons for having left. If she is wrong, if she has deserved the beating, or if she has refused to do work which a woman is obliged to do, her mother must correct her. Sometimes after two or three days, she returns voluntarily to her husband. However, she much prefers to wait for her husband to come after her and to have to explain his behaviour to her father. If it is the husband who is in the wrong, his mistake will probably cost him a handsome new length of cloth, some money, or some jewellery before his wife will consent to go back to him.

Sometimes the advice of the neighbours and the parents lead at last to marital adjustment. If not, there is a divorce. However, the Rundi say that divorce is no longer reasonable after a man and woman have had two or three children together. Their blood has been mixed. Furthermore, they have had time enough to get to know each other's defects. In addition, to divorce the mother of several children is expensive. The husband takes back the bride-price, but he must pay to have his children. A Tutsi has to give a heifer for each daughter and a bull-calf for each son. The Hutu do not always buy back their children, or else they must wait a long time before they have sufficient hoes or money to redeem them. Occasionally, a man prefers simply to abandon a woman. She and her children remain on the property that the husband has given her, and she must send her sons to stay with their father as soon as they are old enough to work for him. Because he does not take back the brideprice, she cannot remarry. A father may not accept more than one dowry for each daughter. If she wants to remarry,